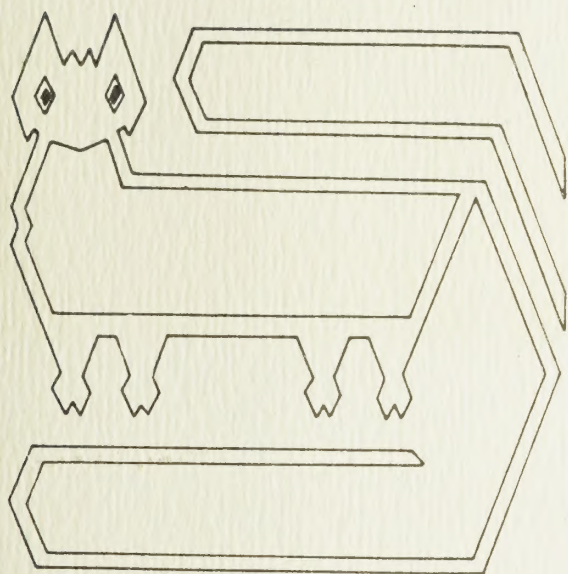


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FIRST GENERATIONS



by

Douglas Roy Matheson

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INTRODUCTION

Water defines the obtuse triangle that is southern Ontario. From the French River system to Lake Erie, it creates natural boundaries that make it an inland island bounded by inland rivers and seas. So it was that Champlain described it in 1615, an idea already implicit in both Iroquoian and Algonquian myths.

Since the first native migration here 12,000 years ago, southern Ontario has experienced influences and forces, welcome and unwelcome, that have altered life within the island. Whether one speaks of the introduction of maize, the destruction of Huronia, or the coming of the Loyalists, the shape of things more than once has undergone dramatic and, sometimes, irrevocable change.

One record of these changes are communities, from Archaic peoples gathered about primordial campfires to later pioneers enduring the hardships of their first season roughing it in the bush. Their very presence is testimony to the different cultures and peoples who have brought change and/or are the result of it.

While there have been several truly profound changes in southern Ontario when it was a native domain, the most significant change to date happened quite suddenly towards the end of the 18th century with a sudden influx of non-native settlers. With that change much of native culture was lost, forgotten, or simply overlooked. In this century, there have been increasing efforts to recover more of southern Ontario's past. The features of native culture and history which First Generations displays are designed to illuminate the sense of place and importance of native peoples to a sense of southern Ontario's history. At the same time, it pays tribute to the different ethno-cultural groups who have founded communities in what for them was a new world.

THE NATIVE DOMAIN

Native people's occupation of the land and its importance to them can best be appreciated as follows: they felt that they belonged to the land, not that it belonged to them. This relationship is expressed by three features of the map: communities, place-names, and sacred sites.

Native communities span a period of 12,000 years and by their range and concentration attest to how thorough was the native occupation of southern Ontario. Traditionally, it was one of the most intensive areas of native activity in all of North America.

Place names are a telling imprint of a people's experience of place. Native place-names reveal qualities that are practical and/or aesthetic, and are the product of generations of observation. Sometimes they record native people's reaction to settlement, as with Kanadasekkeh, or Mount Pleasant, meaning, "New Settlement". Others record an event, such as Gaigwaahgeh, or Fort Erie, "The Place of Hats", which alludes to the caps and hats of voyageurs which floated to shore here after their owners had been attacked by a war party.

Sacred/legendary sites are focal points of native people's respect and awe of the land. As shrines, they often are constituted by natural features in the landscape, and are instinct with mystery and power. To see the sinuous forms of the Peterborough Petroglyphs by an early spring sun intimates the sense of power native people saw inherent in the natural order.



ETHNO-CULTURAL COMMUNITIES

The history of pioneer settlement in its own right has been one of changes. As different ethno-cultural groups arrived, each impacted upon the development of a locale, district or region and, in turn, made its values, views, and presence felt within the island. All things considered, southern Ontario definitely had a multicultural strain from the beginnings of pioneer settlement. The Loyalists were an ethnic conglomerate which included German speakers, Gaelic-speaking Scots, Blacks, a large number of families who were American in everything but name and allegiance, besides other groups such as English, Irish, Dutch, and French Huguenots. Many of these groups insisted on maintaining their ethnic identity. By doing so, they laid the groundwork for the future province of Ontario, and represent the eventual triumph of the British political system even if not of British culture. Allegiance to the Crown made no claims upon one's roots. Ontario, as we know know it, grew out of this political option and social compromise.

The ethno-cultural composition of communities has largely changed since the pioneer period, though the cultural legacy of first generations still can be discovered in customs and institutions endemic to particular communities, and is celebrated by events such as Okotoberfest in Kitchener, or the Highland Games at Maxville. By the 20th century the phenomenon of celebrating origins had become an Ontario tradition, as evidenced, just to take one example, by numerous Loyalist societies. Later immigrants, who often have developed and transformed entire communities, such as Toronto, have continued this tradition to the present day, and enriched it by observing their origins, and through such celebrations as Toronto's Caribana, or Hamilton's Festitalia. By so doing, they have reinforced southern Ontario's character as a pluralistic society, much as the first generations culturally established it as one.

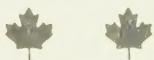
THE ARCHEOLOGICAL RECORD - NATIVE HABITAT AND HABITATION SITES

The archaeological record for southern Ontario can be likened to using a telephoto lens: The closer you move to the present, the clearer the picture becomes. Here it will be reviewed in four segments:

	Paleo-Indian
 	Archiac
  	Early Middle Woodland
   	Late Woodland Princess Point Glen Meyer/Pickering Uren/Middleport
	

Paleo-Indian. About 12,000 years ago, the first peoples of the land, early Paleo (Ancient) Indians, followed the retreating glacier from the last Ice Age north into southern Ontario from what is now the central United States. They were the descendants of Asiatic peoples from Siberia who crossed the Bering Strait, over a land bridge to present-day Alaska. At first, the terrain was tundra and the climate subarctic. Here wandering family groups hunted big game such as caribou though their diet undoubtedly included some fish, small game and wild plants. These hunters used a large (6 cm. or 2 1/4 inch long) fluted chert (flint) spear-point. Most of their sites, some of which are the largest for this period in eastern North America, were base camps where stone was quarried, such as Fisher site. These people most likely used tents made of skin for shelter. Many of their sites were situated along the shoreline of glacial Lake Algonquin, the forerunner of Lake Huron and Georgian Bay. By about 11,000 to 8000 years ago, Plano Indians with their own worked points for spears, knives and scrapers had entered from the Plains. One of their more remarkable sites is Sheguiandah, a long-frequented quartzite quarry and workshop that continued in use to the 2nd century A.D.

Throughout this period marked by cultural conservatism and uniformity, the climate progressively warmed. This brought about the development and spread of coniferous and deciduous forests, and with them, a small non-migratory animal resource. By 3000 B.C. the annual temperature was 2 to 3°C warmer than it is today. These changes in environment set the stage for the emergence of Archaic culture.



Archaic. The Archaic period extends from 7000 to 1000 B.C. The Archaic peoples of southern Ontario descended from the primordial inhabitants, the Paleo-Indians, but introduced changes that would have astonished their ancestors. It was an epoch of dynamic developments.

About 4000 B.C. the innovation of grinding and pecking granite and diabase rock (now used for monuments) produced an industry which fashioned stone tools more durable than those previously made by the chipping and flaking method. Woodworking tools such as axes, gauges and adzes first appear at this time, as did the atlatl, a spear throwing device, and the use of dogs for hunting. It also is during this period that trade first became extensive with items being exchanged from one people to the next through trade networks. Copper from west of Lake Superior worked into tools and ornaments (the first done so in the Americas), slate from the Atlantic seaboard, and shell from the Gulf of Mexico then entered into southern Ontario. Another significant development by Archaic peoples was that of a fishing technology of traps, bone harpoons and bait fishing, not to mention the fish weir (fence) towards the end of the period. These revolutionary advances greatly increased their food supply and after 3000 B.C. there was a significant increase in population. The use of red ochre for internment characterizes the period which towards its end witnesses the emergence of elaborate burial practices.

The developments of the Archaic period helped to give definition to the hunting-gathering way of life characteristic of Archaic culture. It involved small wandering bands moving in a seasonal cycle from camp to camp within their own territories to maximize the food

resource of game, fish, nuts and berries. This made for a far greater regularization of activity than had been the case in the Paleo-Indian period. It was a way of life that persisted largely unchanged in its essentials among Algonquian peoples till the advent of the European fur trade.



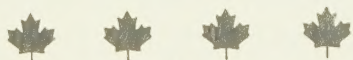
Early Woodland and Middle Woodland. Early Woodland culture is a transitional period restricted to the southern part of southern Ontario and lasts from 1000 B.C. to 500 A.D. Except for the introduction of pottery, it is an extension of the preceding Archaic culture. Ceramics of this period are thick and made of crudely fashioned coils decorated with fabric or cord impression. Dawson Creek, which was a fall nut harvesting/deer processing camp for a group of probably 30 to 60 people, is typical of one of two kinds of period settlement, the other being spring fishing stations. Bruce Boyd, a cemetery site, like all cemeteries of the period, was emblematic of the group or band's identity and their claim to the resources of a territory.

The Middle Woodland period in the south begins about 500 B.C. and lasts till A.D. 500. It is differentiated by more sophistication in pottery design and decoration, the latter including techniques such as incising, punctuation, pseudo-scallop shell, toothed, plain and rocker stamp application. Three cultural traditions have been identified in the south for this period: Saugeen, Point Peninsula, and Western Basin Middle Woodland. The Grand and Nottawasaga rivers mark Saugeen off from Point Peninsula, each extending west and east, respectively, from that area. Western Basin Middle Woodland begins just west of London. The Algonquin Park area is the northern periphery of Point Peninsula.

Differences in pottery style differentiate each of these cultural manifestations, none of which represent anything like an organized people demarcated from their neighbours. Rather, they consisted of a number of interacting bands engaged in essentially the same kinds and pattern of subsistence hunting and gathering activities.

In the northern part of southern Ontario, two separate but related cultural manifestations are found: namely, Laurel and La Cloche. Here Archaic culture extends directly into the Middle Woodland period, or as it is also known for this region, Initial Woodland. This period lasts from 500 B.C. to A.D. 1000 and, as in the south, begins with the adoption of pottery which originated in the south. Also, from the south came people who joined the descendants of the indigenous Archaic population. Again, as in the south, pottery design distinguishes La Cloche, situated along the North Channel of Lake Huron in the La Cloche Mountains, from Laurel, the more extensive cultural tradition found elsewhere throughout the region and which is noted for ceramics thinner than those found in the south.

Though developments of the Middle Woodland period did not have as momentous an impact upon people's very way of life as had occurred during the Archaic period, they nonetheless were significant in reinforcing established patterns and in creating possibilities for new ones. During this period large woodworking tools were replaced by smaller more manageable ones. Of greater importance were two other developments. These were the invention of seine fishing and the introduction of the bow and arrow. The former significantly increased the fish catch so that it became a major staple of the diet, while the latter gave hunters the advantage of striking prey with more accuracy and at a greater distance than previously possible. The latter development, while of advantage to people's throughout southern Ontario, in the long run proved to be more important as an adaptive strategy to survival for people in the more severe northern climate and habitat. The former had an even more telling impact on the south.



Late Woodland - Princess Point. In the north the Late Woodland period extends from A.D. 1000 to 1600 and is identified by Blackduck pottery, a globular cord-decorated vessel. The Blackduck tradition is the product of the northern Ojibway and by A.D. 1000 it had supplanted the Laurel tradition. However, the pattern of subsistence activity remained unchanged from the previous Middle



Woodland period, though trade with the Huron had developed as attested by the presence of Huron pottery in Ojibway camps.

In southern Ontario the late Woodland period generally is one of dynamic and accelerated change. Only in the southwest part of the province was the traditional cycle of seasonal camps and related cultural activity maintained, though even this area eventually was affected by developments to the west. Elsewhere in the south occurs the birth of the Ontario Iroquoian tradition. It can be treated in three segments: Princess Point, Glen Meyer/Pickering and Uren/Middleport.

Princess Point. Middle Woodland developments in fishing technology gave southern settlements more permanence than previously had been possible. Tribes could remain longer at a camp when a guaranteed food supply was at hand. They would need to take up their former migratory ways only for the winter hunt when game became the staple of survival. Not surprisingly, the habitation sites of this period invariably are situated on rivers, streams, peninsulas and islands. Because they were to all intents and purposes permanent, the people of these settlements were already accustomed to a sedentary way of life. This allowed them to adopt the practice of horticulture when corn was introduced into southern Ontario about A.D. 500. During this period, the longhouse first appears, a fitting symbol for the matrilineal social order that was emerging as a result of the revolution that the crop-based economy was creating.

Glen Meyer/Pickering. By A.D. 700-800, two cultures had emerged in southern Ontario, Glen Meyer in the southwest and Pickering to the southeast, particularly where there was light arable soil conducive to cultivation. Both cultures depended heavily on maize, though Pickering did so less since fish remained a significant part of the diet. Villages as such first appear during this period. They were clusters of longhouses situated on hills and palisaded for defense, for the Iroquoian pattern of internecine and often protracted warfare erupts in this period. When crop cultivation, women's responsibility,

came to be the major source of food, men who no longer had to provide by hunting game began to hunt each other. It is possible, though far from certain, that warfare closed out the period in 1300 with the conquest of Glen Meyer by Pickering peoples.

Uren/Middleport. Uren culture was the product of Glen Meyer and Pickering peoples coalescing and lasted 50 years. It was succeeded by Middleport, a period of cultural homogeneity across southern Ontario which variously ended from 1400 to 1450.

Throughout these two periods the final elements of what is characteristic about Ontario Iroquoian tribes were added. Longhouses grew in size and smaller villages amalgamated into larger ones. There was a proliferation of smoking pipes of different decoration and design. The appearance of ossuary burial (communal burial pits), unique to Ontario Iroquoian peoples (Huron, Neutral, Petun), occurs at this time, and squash, beans and the sunflower first enter southern Ontario.

By 1450 the two major branches of the Ontario Iroquois tradition had emerged from Middleport culture, the Huron and Petun, and the Neutral and Erie. Thereafter, the year 1530 is recognized as the beginning of what is known as the historic period for these tribes as European goods first show up at sites after that date.

ALGONQUIAN AND IROQUOIAN LANGUAGES, PEOPLE, AND CULTURE

Two language groups are found in southern Ontario: Iroquoian and Algonquian (not to be confused with Algonquin, one nation in the Algonquian group). In the historic period Algonquian languages largely were found in the Canadian Shield and Iroquoian ones south of it.

Languages. Algonquian languages covered an area stretching from the Rocky Mountains to the Atlantic ocean. Throughout northeastern North America Algonquian was the major language group except for a block of Iroquoian

languages which formed a wedge in the Great Lakes area. Algonquian languages are divided into three geographic groupings: namely, Plains Algonquian, Central Algonquian (the Great Lakes) and Eastern Algonquian (the eastern seaboard). Delaware comes from the last named branch, while Ojibway/Mississauga, Ottawa, Nipissing, Algonquin and Potawatomi are members of the Central branch, which also includes Cree, Menominee and Fox. Blackfoot, Arapaho and Cheyenne constitute the Western branch. These three language groups descend from Proto-Algonquian which was spoken 3000 years ago. They spread out from the original homeland of Proto-Algonquian which was the area between Georgian Bay and Lake Ontario.

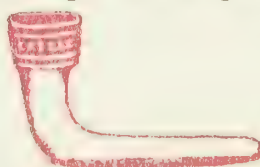
Iroquoian languages descend from a parent language spoken 4000 years ago in the area of central New York state and the adjacent part of Pennsylvania. The fifteen Iroquoian languages extended from the interior of North Carolina north to the eastern Great Lakes, their area of major concentration. Cherokee made up the southern branch and separated from the parent language about 3,500 years ago. The northern branch consisted of four sub-groupings. These were: Tuscarora, and the now extinct Nottaway, 2000 years old; Huronian (Huron, Neutral, Pletun, all extinct) somewhere between 1500 and 2000 years old; Cayuga, Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Seneca, and extinct Susquehannock, which began to develop 1000 to 1500 years ago; and Laurentian, the extinct language spoken by the St. Lawrence Iroquois, age unknown. Too little is known about Wenro and Erie, both extinct, to classify them with any of these sub-groupings.

People. Although Algonquian and Iroquoian are distinct language groups, it should not be inferred that they also identify biological differences. Biological differences did exist but developed along regional lines in the early Archaic period largely between southern Ontario and the area east of it. Thus, Ontario Iroquois (Huron, Petun, Neutral) shared biological characteristics with Central Algonquian speakers of the Great Lakes, such as the Ottawa and Ojibway, but were biologically distinct from the Five Nations Iroquois of upper New York state who were aligned to Algonquian peoples of New England and the mid-Atlantic

states. Far more important than these biological distinctions were cultural differences between Algonquian and Iroquoian speakers.

Culture. The culture of Algonquian peoples in general involved hunting, fishing, and gathering wild plants and berries. In more temperate areas, crop cultivation also was practised. This life-style revolved about a seasonal quest to take maximum advantage of the food resources available at different times of the year. Families separated from each other in the fall to head to winter hunting territories and met again in the spring in order to fish. Only during the summer would the entire band - usually 100 to 400 people - come together and then for religious and ceremonial purposes. In this culture the birchbark canoe and easily transported wigwam were indispensable to a nomadic life of moving from one seasonal camp to another. The role of the individual hunter figured very large in this society, especially in winter when the sole hunter often would be separated from his family for long periods of time. Accordingly, Algonquian cultures were paternalistic and survival oriented. Their religious focus was on the spiritual vision quest of the individual.

By contrast, the matriarchal culture of Iroquoian peoples centred around horticulture. Crop cultivation was performed by women and the products of it made up the bulk of the Iroquoian diet. Nonetheless, hunting remained an essential activity. Wild animals provided a meat supplement and clothing in a culture which did not have cloth. In fact, it has been proposed that the alliances and confederacies of Iroquoian peoples first formed to prevent others from exploiting hunting grounds of a scarce clothing source - deer. Horticulture, however, was of primary importance, especially because crops like corn, when dried, guaranteed a food supply over the winter. Largely because of it, Iroquoian peoples led a sedentary village life. Villages consisted of rows of longhouses (usually 25' x 80') covered a few acres in area, and were palisaded. They could be as large as 3,000 people and were relocated every 10 to 20 years when the soil was depleted of nutrients. Being sedentary, Iroquoian peoples



became more organized than Algonquian ones. Their basic unit of organization was the longhouse itself which was composed of different nuclear families related by matrilineal descent under a matron. Its principles of organization were applied to the clan and nation and were reflected by Iroquoian religion. Generally speaking, its greater concern was with the needs of the individual as a social being, whereas in Algonquian society the religious focus primarily was on the individual's sense of autonomy.



ONTARIO IROQUOIS

Huron, St. Lawrence Iroquois & Wyandot. The term Huron denotes an Iroquoian confederacy of 5 tribes and derives from a 17th century French word meaning, "ruffian, lout" or "unkempt person". The Huron appropriately referred to themselves as Wendat, "Islanders", for their territory was bounded by the waters of Lake Couchiching to the east, Georgian Bay to the north, Nottawasaga Bay to the west and extensive marshes to the south. Within "the island" itself most of the countryside lay open in fields of corn and fallow, much as today.

The Huron, or possibly the Mohawk, had destroyed a distinct Iroquoian tribe, now referred to as the St. Lawrence Iroquois, some time after 1535. In that year Jacques Cartier encountered them when he noted 10 of their villages along the lower St. Lawrence situated mainly between Stadacona (Quebec City) and Hochelaga (Montreal). They also extended along the upper St. Lawrence into present day Ontario and Jefferson County, New York State. It is possible that they derived from Pickering peoples. When they fell they were absorbed by the Huron, as evidenced by artifacts at various Huron sites. The Huron thereby assimilated elements of St. Lawrence Iroquois culture which affected their own. By the time the next French explorer, Champlain, came to the St. Lawrence in 1603 there was no trace of Hochelaga or the other villages. To this people we are indebted for the name Canada, meaning "village", as recorded by Cartier.

Huron proper had emerged from a consolidation of villages as people moved northward from the Toronto region and Trent River waterway to join the resident population in the area. When Champlain met them, the Huron at some prior period had been at war with the Petun, and possibly the Neutral. They were then engaged in a long-standing and fatal conflict with the Iroquois which was fueled by efforts to control the fur trade. Attempts to conclude a peace between the two confederacies were undermined by factions in both camps, but also by French missionaries who were anxious that the Huron remain instruments of the French policy of capturing the lion's share of the fur trade from Dutch and English rivals.

Champlain committed the French to the Huron and their Algonquian allies in 1609, when with a Huron war party he attacked the Iroquois in their homeland. Thereafter, direct trade between the French and Huron followed, an advantage the Huron jealously guarded by refusing the Ottawa and Petun access through their territory to the French, and by playing the role of middleman with these allies as well as with the Neutral. With the French trade came European epidemics which reduced the population by half from 1634 to 1640, and missionaries who did not succeed in converting the entire society.

The Huron community developed tensions within, between traditional and Christian, anti- and pro-French factions. By 1647, when the first large scale Iroquois assaults began, the Huron were a house divided. Village after village fell, including the centre of missionary activity, Sainte-Marie, also known as the Martyrs' Shrine, and by 1649 Huronia lay in ruins or deserted. The remnant Huron were either captives in Iroquois villages, or had fled to the Petun, Neutral, and Erie, or had found temporary sanctuary on Christian and St. Joseph Islands. There many more were to perish from cold and starvation before they made their way to Quebec. One offshoot of this tragedy was the formation of a new but related Huron tribe.

The Wyandot were formed out of several hundred Huron and Neutral who fled to Michilimackinac and then to Green Bay, Wisconsin after their defeat by the Iroquois. When

Cadillac established a French presence at Detroit in 1701, they moved there to continue to take advantage of their trading relationship with the French. As French allies, they were part of the force that destroyed General Braddock's army of British regulars, near Fort Duquesne (Pittsburg), in 1755 during the French and Indian War.

On the Canadian side of the border, the Jesuits set up a village for the Wyandot in 1742, which was relocated in 1748, and known as the Huron Mission as well as D'Ochrie. This was ceded to the Crown in 1800. The Huron Reserve in the area of the first village had either been sold off or divided amongst the local band by 1881. In the U.S. they had been relocated from Ohio to the site of present-day Kansas City by the U.S. government. By 1867 they had again been relocated, this time to Oklahoma where the Seneca gave them 20,000 acres of their reserve. Since then the Wyandot language has become extinct.

More is known about original Huron customs and religious ideas than for any other northern Iroquoian people, thanks to observations of the Jesuits and French explorers. The Huron believed all things, animate and inanimate, were possessed of a soul or spirit. 'Oki', such as the sky, were powerful spirits that could influence daily affairs, including gambling, hunting and warfare. The Iroquois successes would have convinced the Huron they were no longer "blessed" and, in part, explains the panic and urge to sudden flight that seized them. Individuals had two souls. One departed for the village of the dead, which resembled that of the living, and the other could be reborn after the most celebrated of Huron social occasions, the Feast of the Dead.

The whole tribe participated in the 10 day feast which was held every 10 to 12 years when a village relocated. Disinterred bodies were stripped of their flesh and their bones wrapped in beaver skin bags. Feasts honouring them and the recently deceased were then held. After 8 days the recently deceased and the contents of the bags were buried in a communal pit, or ossuary, lined with beaver pelts accompanied by grave goods such as kettles. Most grave goods were distributed as gifts, including beaver

robes, to the assembled tribe and guests.

Dreams figured large in Huron life. By them one could know the future, as well as be informed of how to go about one's day to day business. They were regarded as revealing one's innermost desires. As with psychoanalysis, shamans were employed to help a person interpret and fulfill their dream.

All native peoples were profoundly affected by the fur trade but perhaps few so suddenly and completely as the Huron. Although they had long-established trade relations with groups such as the Nipissing, the fur trade transformed them from a largely horticulturally oriented society, to a nation of travelling salesmen who ventured far afield, to both acquire and deliver pelts for French consumers. The French themselves respected the Huron's intelligence, and noted that they impressed values of respect for others and generosity upon their children. These views, however, were not applied to prisoners and criminals who were brutally tortured, much to the horror of the French who could not persuade them to give up the practise.

Today the only surviving band of Huron in Canada is at the village of Lorette, a reservation near Quebec City. They number approximately 1,000, a much reduced figure from the 20,000 who inhabited Huronia. The last speaker of the Huron tongue died in 1912.

Neutral and Wenro. The term was applied by Champlain to this Iroquoian confederacy when he discovered they did not take sides in the age-old Iroquois-Huron controversy. In fact, warriors from both nations were received as guests in Neutral towns, and the Neutral provided access through their territory to war parties from either nation. The Neutral were referred to as Attawandaron by the Huron, meaning, "they who understand the language".

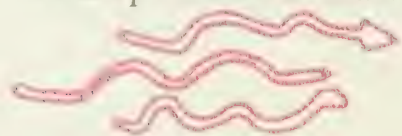
Prior to the historic period, Neutral settlements lay west of the Grand River across southwest Ontario. In the historic period they occupied the area south of Huronia, and east of the Grand River, in a large defensive network

of 40 settlements centered in the Hamilton-Brantford region. Their territory also extended across the Niagara River into western New York State, where the Wenro, a confederate tribe, were situated west of the Seneca. Wenro signifies, "the people of the place of floating scum", and was descriptive of their marshy locale.

The ramifications of disease probably were more serious for the sedentary Neutral than for any other native group in southern Ontario. Their population has been estimated at 40,000 prior to 1638, which made them the largest known Iroquoian people in the Great Lakes region. From 1638 to 1640, smallpox reduced their numbers from one half to one third of that figure. Despite this, in the 1640's they still were able to brutally sack a large fortified town of their traditional enemies, the Mascoueten, with 2,000 warriors. Nonetheless, they were a weakened power in 1647, when the Seneca entered one of the confederacy's villages under the customary conditions of neutrality, then destroyed it. No known retaliation followed. War in 1649 with the Iroquois led to their dispersal in 1652. Even then they were still capable of inflicting a defeat on the Seneca. In 1656 the remnant of their nation were south of Lake Erie, the last year any report of them as a distinct people is given.

The confederacy had a principle chief - Souharrisén when Father Daillon visited them in 1626 - whose capitol Ounontisaston, an ancestral seat, has been identified with Walker archaeological site. He presided over a shifting alliance of tribes. The actions of the Wenro illustrate its political character. In 1638 they were rejected as part of the alliance. No longer enjoying the confederacy's protection, they fled to the Huron with whom they then allied themselves, rather than fall prey to the Seneca.

In appearance the Neutral were heavily tattooed, particularly with serpent designs, and went naked except in cold weather. Taller than either Hurons or Europeans, they were considered very licentious by the French. Their habitat was bountiful in game and they were regarded as exceptional hunters. They were better at working flint



than their Iroquoian neighbours, but were inexpert at handling canoes on which they relied little anyway. Their main trade item was the good quality tobacco they raised.

The Neutral resisted Jesuit attempts to convert them, though the Huron, for economic reasons, had a hand in the matter. Witchcraft, and especially the importance of dreams, figured large in their life. It was also noted that, in contrast to the Huron, they kept corpses of the deceased for longer in their longhouses. Similarly, it is now recognized that their funerary customs differed from the Huron Feast of the Dead. The only remnant of this once powerful confederacy would be in the blood lines of the conquering Iroquois, who adopted some of the Neutral into their own tribes, and amongst the Wyandot tribe now in Oklahoma.

Petun. The word, meaning tobacco, was used by the French because the Petun raised and traded this crop. In historical accounts the Indian name they are known by is Khionontateronon, "people of the place where the hills are", a fitting term since their villages occupied the hilly country south of Nottawasaga Bay.

It is now believed that the two principle groups or nations, the Wolves and the Deer, which constituted the Petun were a mixture of different peoples, among them Neutral, Ottawa, and proto-Hurons. The Petun enjoyed close relations with the two former nations, the Ottawa wintering in northern Petun country and Neutral chiefs being observed in their villages. It has been postulated that Ekarenniondi was the capital of the Ottawas. Notably, the Petun, Neutral and Ottawa were allied against the Mascoueten of the lower Michigan peninsula.

Prior to Champlain's visiting their country in 1616, they had waged war against the Huron immediately to the east of them. In 1640, the two nations renewed an alliance which promoted trade and a mutual defence pact, felt to have been made because of the Iroquois threat. In that year the principal village of the Wolves, Ehvae, was destroyed by an unidentified aggressor, and thereafter abandoned. In 1649, the Petun fell to the Iroquois,

especially after their principal village Etharita, was sacked, while its defenders were out looking for the invading Iroquois war party. Thereafter, the survivors took refuge among the Ottawa on Manitoulin Island, and then fled to Green Bay, Wisconsin. Some of them united with Huron refugees to form the tribe known as the Wyandot, who in 1701 settled along the Detroit River.

The Petun spoke Huron and the observations of French commentators suggest their agrarian culture was very much like that of the Bear clan of the Huron, though, notably Petun men, like the Neutral, tattooed their bodies more than did the Huron.

It is estimated that prior to European introduced epidemics, they numbered 8000. In 1911 there were 250 Wynadot on the Oklahoma reservation, while today there are only a remnant in Canada.



ALGONQUIAN GROUP

Algonquin. A Malesite term thought to mean "the dancers", it was conferred upon them in 1603 when, at a feast, Champlain mistook a Malesite designation for some dancers of this people for a tribal name. In the 17th century, the Algonquin inhabited the Ottawa River Valley. Five of their six bands occupied southern Ontario, along the Madawaska and South Nation rivers, in the area of Morrison Island and north of there.

From 1570, onward the Algonquin had a troubled history of war with the Iroquois. The fur trade intensified these hostilities, since the Algonquin controlled a vital trade route coveted by the Iroquois. The Kichesipirini of Morrison's Island, the most powerful Algonquin band, for example, exacted a toll from those who would pass by their strategic location.

After initial successes against the Iroquois, particularly in co-operation with the Huron in 1610 and 1611, the Algonquin were deceived by spurious peace

treaties with their old adversaries in 1634 and 1645. On both occasions prominent Algonquin chiefs and warriors were treacherously slain. This, along with a declining population from European diseases and the Iroquois advantage of greater firepower eventually caused them to abandon their homeland sometime after 1650. A number took sanctuary at Sillery in Quebec where epidemics further reduced their numbers. Over time, others found their way to other Quebec missions, particularly Lake of Two Mountains. From the latter come those Algonquin now at Golden Lake. Throughout their adversity the Algonquin remained staunch French allies who fought in numerous campaigns against the English, and finally on the Plains of Abraham.

Due to their location between Algonquian and Iroquoian peoples, the Algonquin acquired practices and customs from both, though their material and spiritual life largely conformed on all important points with Algonquian practice. Notable divergences were a greater reliance on agriculture and the use of nets for winter fishing, both the result of Huron influence, as were the customs of smoking tobacco in silence before conducting councils and the host not eating when guests were entertained.

Before European contact they numbered only 4,000. Today, most Algonquin live on reserves in Quebec though there is an unknown number of non-status Algonquin in the Ottawa valley. In Ontario, there are 446 at Golden Lake, along with Nipissing and some amongst the Iroquois population at Gibson.

Delaware. This nation made up of three culturally affiliated groups spoke 2 closely related Algonquian languages. Their history mirrors the dislocation of so many native Americans who time and again were pushed further and yet further west by force or circumstance. Their homeland originally was in the Delaware River valley and comprised all of New Jersey and part of Manhattan. In the 1640s they came into conflict with Dutch settlers in these areas who, with English assistance, destroyed a number of their villages, all of which eventually forced them to relocate.

By the 1740s the Delaware were in Ohio. Here the massacre of a community of unarmed Christian Delaware, by Americans, led one branch of their people to seek sanctuary across the border. In 1792, with the assistance of Moravian missionaries, they established the village of Fairfield on the Thames. It, in turn, was destroyed by invading American forces during the War of 1812 after the fearless Delaware chief, Tecumseh, had fallen defending it and covering the retreat towards Hamilton of British troops and their inept commander.

Those Delaware at the Six Nations reservation came north, with a small party of Six Nations peoples, a year in advance of Joseph Brant's arrival with the main body of Iroquois in 1784. They established two villages near Cayuga, and it is from this group that the band known as "Muncey of the Thames" come. In the United States further relocations finally resulted in the Delaware being found in New York, Kansas, Wisconsin and Oklahoma, which is to say, largely removed from their original homeland.

As a result of early contact with white society, the Delaware adopted many practices and institutions from it. Originally, Delaware culture was centered about the Algonquian seasonal cycle of food procurement, though horticulture played a far larger role in it, than it did for Algonquian peoples of southern Ontario. By the 20th century they, by and large, had assimilated white culture, so much so that there are now few speakers of the language left. In 1600 they numbered from 8,000 to 12,000. Today there are some 800 on reserves in southern Ontario, not to mention many others in the U.S.

Nipissing. Nipissing villages were situated around Lake Nipissing, from which the tribe took its name, meaning, "at the little body of water", and on the upper French River.

As northern forest hunters, their residence would change with the season. Though Lake Nipissing was their home base and place of congregation in summer, they often would winter in Huron country, after having traded fish for corn with their neighbours. This pattern of activity

was disrupted after the fall of Huronia in 1649. For several years they then withstood attacks by the Iroquois. Finally, they fled to Lake Nipigon in the northwest, sometime before 1661. By 1667 they were back "at the little body of water", following peace made between the French and Iroquois, though much of the nation remained dispersed throughout the northwest and elsewhere. Those Nipissing now at Golden Lake came from the Two Mountains mission in Quebec.

Historically, the Nipissing were allied with the French and attacked the English in New England, and New York, during King William's War (1689). But after the fall of New France, they supported the British, and fought against the Americans in the War of 1812.

Their territory was abundant in beaver, and they enjoyed a profitable middleman commerce due to their location on the French river system. They were noted as being more slender than the Huron, wore their hair long, and dressed in beaver and other animal skins. The Huron referred to them as "the nation of sorcerers" due to a reputation for shamanism. They were admired for their harmonious singing, and were considered kindly and hospitable.

In 1616, Champlain estimated they numbered from 700 to 800, a figure subsequently decimated by disease and the Iroquois. Aside from reserves in Quebec, they now number 446, along with Algonquin, at Golden Lake and figure into some of the 493 Ojibway at the Nipissing Reserve.

Ottawa. Their name means 'traders,' a fitting description, since historically they acted as middlemen between the western tribes and the Huron, and after that, the French, when Huronia fell in 1649. Manitoulin Island, the Bruce Peninsula, and north shore of Georgian Bay, was their traditional homeland. In 1649, the Iroquois threat caused them to remove to the Straits of Mackinaw and Green Bay, Wisconsin. From 1670 to 1680, some of them returned to Manitoulin, which from the earliest times they had called Manitou Miniss, "the Island of the Great Spirit." Again in 1712, some returned after defeating the Fox and

Mascoueten in Michigan. The island then lay virtually deserted until 1814, when a portion of the tribe once more came back.

Traditionally, the Ottawa were allied to the French, who in reference to their hair style, called them Cheveaux Releves (High Hairs). Many of the tribe followed their famous chief, Pontiac, in 1763, when he inspired an uprising by different tribes that threatened British power in the Upper Great Lakes.

Fish was an important food source, supplemented by what the hunt brought in during the winter, and the corn, beans, and squash raised by women. However, as trade increased they abandoned horticulture altogether. They were celebrated as feast makers, and were expert canoemen, though not highly regarded as hunters. Champlain considered them remarkable traders, and was impressed by their personal neatness. Once considered cowardly warriors, in time they earned the respect of other tribes for their valour. Like many tribes, they survived a reduction in numbers from European diseases. It is estimated that in Canada and the U.S. there are now between 4,000 and 6,000 Ottawa.

Ojibway and Mississauga. These are two related branches of the same people who refer to themselves as Anishinaubag, "human beings". Ojibway itself means, "puckered up", in reference to the fashion of their moccasins, while Mississauga means, "river with several outlets", from the river name of their original place of residence.

They derive from a number of Algonquian groups, each of several hundred people, who lived along the northwest shore of Lake Superior, the upper part of Michigan Peninsula, and in some northern parts of southern Ontario. Among the latter on the north shore of Lake Huron were the Mississauga, Amikwa and Nikikouek, while along the east coast of Georgian Bay were the Achiligouan, Outchougai and Ouasouarini. From all of these groups emerged the Saulteaux and Chippewa (of the Canadian Prairies, and in Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota and North Dakota), and the Mississauga and Ojibway.

Under pressure from the Iroquois, some of these groups (Chippewa, Saulteaux) moved west. They had displaced the Sioux from the region west of Lake Superior sometime in 1736. Other Ojibway expanded into the Lake Nipigon area and northwest Ontario. Others, however, politically amalgamated and retaliated. By 1700, the emergent Mississauga and Ojibway had driven the Iroquois out of southern Ontario in a series of battles, and were attacking them in their homeland of upper New York state. A population shift followed, which was augmented when the French administrator, Cadillac, brought Ojibway from Sault Sainte Marie to Detroit in 1701. As a result, it was from the Mississauga and Ojibway that the British purchased, by portions, southern Ontario in land cessions from 1781 to 1830. Prior to that the Mississauga, in particular, vacillated between the French and the British in their struggle for the continent. Nominal French allies, they switched alliance in 1746 to the British and attacked the French in the Upper Great Lakes only to support the French again in the Seven Years War. In like manner, the Ojibway of southwestern Ontario supported Pontiac's attack on the British in 1763, though by the War of 1812 these same people's loyalty had been won over and they fought invading Americans at the Battle of the Thames.

In the interim, the Six Nations recognized the Mississauga in 1764 as a brother nation in an alliance of mutual benefit. It laid the groundwork for the Six Nations giving the Mississauga band of the Credit a section of their reserve 83 years later. Throughout the history of the Mississauga and Ojibway emerges a strong desire to pursue their own course.

Matching this sense of political autonomy is a cultural one. Though many adopted Christianity in the 19th century, they still retained traditional religious practices and beliefs, such as the view that the world was invested with numerous manitos or spirit prototypes of flora and fauna some of which were extremely powerful. As well, to this day, they possess a rich lore of stories and legends.

Traditionally they were grouped in small bands each headed by a chief. Chiefs would meet for a Grand Council to deliberate about relations with friend and foe and between their bands. The Ojibway and Mississauga were a nomadic people and largely continued to be so until they began to live in government villages and reservations. Up to that time, hunting and especially fishing were the mainstays of their food source, supplemented by maple sugar and/or wild rice depending on the locale, berries and some horticultural produce. They numbered 3,000 to 4,000 before their westward and southern expansion. Today there are about 10,000 in southern Ontario.

Potawatomi. The meaning of the term is no longer understood. According to their traditional history, but also that of the Ojibway, and Ottawa, all three groups once were one people who shared the same culture and language. They migrated from the east coast and divided into three groups at the Straits of Mackinac, the Potawatomi taking up their protohistoric homeland in the lower Michigan peninsula. However, they speak a distinct Algonquian language, one different from Ojibway.

From 1670 on, as a result of an alliance with the French, they expanded so that by 1820 they had come to occupy a considerable portion of lower Wisconsin, upper Illinois and Indiana, and lower Michigan with 100 villages. As American settlers flooded into this area the Potawatomi were forced to remove from it in 1836. From 1837 to 1840 some 2,000 crossed over to Walpole Island, Sarnia and the north shore of Lake Huron. The move to British territory was a natural choice since most Potawatomi had supported the British in the War of 1812 and thereafter continued to receive payment and presents at British posts for their military service or continued loyalty. In the U.S. they were scattered from Wisconsin and Michigan to Kansas and Oklahoma in communities and on reservations.

Along with Manitoulin Island, Orillia, and Walpole Island, this emigre tribe of southern Ontario are now represented at all reserves along the shoreline from Sarnia to Cape Croker though, by and large, they have been

assimilated by the Ojibway and Ottawa at these reserves. It is estimated they numbered 4,000 about 1600 and 10,000 by 1823. Due to assimilation, there is no way of knowing how many are in Ontario, though 865 were enumerated at Walpole Island in 1970.

Iroquois. Equally well known as the Six Nations, the League of the Iroquois was a confederacy which at first was made up of 5 nations, or more accurately, tribes. Their traditional homeland was in Upper New York state, stretching from Lake Champlain to the Genessee River (Rochester) and from the Adirondacks south to the upper Susquehanna River. The term is from Algonquin, and means "real adders" (snakes). They referred to themselves as Onawanosionne, "we of the extended lodge".

Iroquois likened their confederacy to a longhouse and were arranged from east to west in the following order. The Mohawk guarded the eastern door. Their name, from New England Algonquian, means "man-eaters", and relates to ritualistic war rites which also were practiced by the Huron. Next came the Oneida, the "people of the standing stone", this reference being to a large boulder near an old site of their village. The Onondaga, at the centre of the longhouse, took their name from the situation of their town, "on the mountain", which was capital of the league. The Cayuga followed, their name meaning, "at the place where the boats are taken out", in reference to Cayuga Lake. Finally came the Seneca, who guarded the western door and whose name is a corruption of the word Oneida. The sixth nation, the Tuscarora, whose name is thought to mean, "those of the Indian Hemp", originally came from North Carolina. An Iroquoian-speaking people, they were forced north by the Tuscarora Wars with colonists there after 1712 and were accepted into the League in 1715.

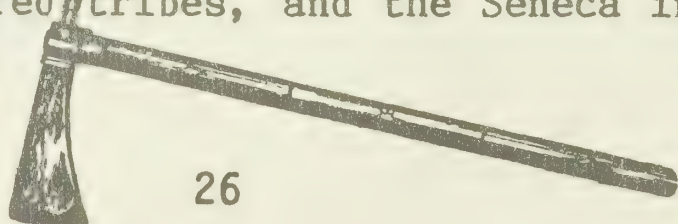
Up to the emergence of the League, the five tribes developed in place from 800 to 900 A.D. onward. Their development paralleled that of Iroquoian peoples in Ontario. They progressed from fishing hamlets to small agricultural hamlets to an amalgamation of these autonomous communities into large palisaded villages with large longhouses situated on hilltops for defense. By the

15th century, the various Iroquois tribes had formed.

The impetus of defending their resources and of self-interest led the 5 nations to form a confederacy. Prior to its formation, they were engaged in blood revenge and inter-tribal warfare. According to tradition, the confederacy was the inspiration of Daganawida, a sachem or chief, who according to some scholars, flourished in the 15th century. He conceived of the league while observing a boy breaking sticks for firewood. When the boy attempted and failed to break five sticks over his knee, Daganawida recognized the principle that in unity lay strength. Since he had a speech impediment he required a spokesman for his vision of Iroquois greatness. This was Hiawatha (not the figure of Longfellow's poem) whose eloquence persuaded the five tribes of the league's merit.

In the confederacy each tribe had power of veto and voting privileges through its chiefs, except the Onondaga who acted as moderator. Matters not agreed upon in the League's Council were addressed by the moderator until common ground was reached. Chiefs were selected within the tribe on a hereditary basis and from persons of proven ability. They were subject to a tribal vote by women and men and to confirmation by all chiefs. Chieftanesses also were chosen for the Council and had authority to depose a chief, to initiate and recall motions and to implement referenda. All in all, the Iroquois developed one of the most remarkable and advanced democratic systems the world has known.

Adoption of children and women and sometimes men played an important role in their social system. By it, conquered and defeated tribes, both Iroquoian and Algonquian, replenished Iroquois fallen in battle or from plague. It has been estimated that a large majority of the 17th century and 18th century Iroquois were, in fact, captives from other tribes. For example, the Oneida were largely composed of captive Huron and Algonquin, as were the Onondaga who also included Neutrals, Montagnais and Conestogas, while the Cayuga were a composite of 15 defeated or conquered tribes, and the Seneca included 11 tribes.



The Iroquois had been conditioned to adversity by internecine strife and age-old conflicts with the Algonquian tribes of New England and Iroquoian nations to their north and south. As well, throughout their history they carried on a protracted struggle with the French which, on occasion, terrorized New France and thwarted French settlement west of the Ottawa River. Eventually some Iroquois accepted Christianity and moved to Quebec missions from which the groups at St. Regis and Gibson ultimately descend.

After the defeat of the Huron, Petun and Neutral by 1652 and flight of the Ottawa, Algonquin and Nipissing, the Iroquois established a string of outpost villages, such as Teiaiagon, at vital points around the Ontario shore of Lake Ontario. The tribal identity of these villages corresponds to the order of the Five Nations in upper New York state. Thus Mohawk are in the east, Seneca in the west, and the rest in between. However, the Iroquois did not settle southern Ontario which remained a vacuum until the Ojibway-Mississauga occupied it. In what is now the United States, the Iroquois continued to expand their territory through conquest of other tribes. By mid-18th century, it encompassed most of New York state, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Michigan, Indiana, a portion of Kentucky, North Carolina and Maryland, and all of Ohio and West Virginia.

The phenomenal success of the Iroquois and the reasons behind it are various. It has been recognized that they had the most advanced and sophisticated political system north of Mexico. They brought this ability to better organize to strategies innovative to native warfare, such as the early spring campaign against the Huron which utterly surprised and demoralized their foes. Added to this, by 1647 they enjoyed the advantage of more and better firearms.

The motivating factor in their wars was a virtual obsession with territorial security whether secured by diplomacy, treachery, or outright warfare. Iroquoian villages were islands in a forest and thus vulnerable to surprise attacks. The Iroquois felt threatened with

imminent destruction by alliances which the Huron, and then others after them, formed that hemmed them in. By eliminating neighbouring tribes, they created a protective buffer-zone around the League itself. Furthermore, it strengthened their hand in the fur trade. By the 17th century, they had become dependent upon European goods. But they had depleted the means to acquire them, their own fur resources, and were anxious to gain access to rich hunting grounds or control of trade routes for middleman advantages.

The Iroquois as a rule had been staunch British allies. Loyal, except for the Oneida, to the British during the American Revolution, they lost their territory and most of their homeland when the revolutionaries won out. Most of the Six Nations then followed the redoubtable Joseph Brant and John Deseronto north in 1784 to Upper Canada where they received lands along the Grand River and at the Bay of Quinte in recognition of their service. They subsequently played an eminent and probably decisive role in saving the fledgling colony from invading American forces during the War of 1812. They flourished in their new homeland and from a population of 10,000 to 12,000 in 1640 now number 17,000 in Ontario, 6,000 in Quebec and many more in the United States.





SACRED/LEGENDARY SITES

Belle Island. In 1670 Galinee and Dollier, French Suplician priests, had a stone idol destroyed and thrown into the Detroit River. Thereafter, the Indians gathered the fragments into their canoes to use as amulets. While passing Belle Island, a great voice told them to scatter the fragments along the island's beaches. These were then transformed into rattlesnakes which guarded the retreat of the Manito associated with the idol.

Chaudiere Rapids, French River & Chaudiere Falls, Ottawa or "kettle falls", a site for offerings for the Nipissing, was so called for natural pot holes in the rock that resembled kettles. These holes were regarded by shamans as entrance points to the spirit world. Offerings of tobacco would be left at the site, a practice Champlain observed here in 1613. In the same year, Champlain described a native ceremony which took place at the Chaudiere Falls, Ottawa, "the speaker takes the plate and throws the tobacco into the middle of La Chaudiere (kettle) and they make a great cry all together". The site would have had the same significance as that on the French River and was known to the Mohawk who revered it as Tsitkanajoh, "Floating Kettle".

Ekarenniondi was both a Petun village (the Jesuit Mission of St. Mathias), and a large rock a quarter of a mile northeast of it split off from the Niagara Escarpment (at the Scenic Caves). The rock lay on the path that led from Huronia to the village of Souls. It is surmised that here dwelt the eternal being called Oscotarach ('Pierce Head') who removed the brains of the Huron dead before they reached the village.

Lake Medad was noted formerly for its strange rumbling sounds. In native legend this spot once was a ground for war dances and torture sessions. When the local tribe become ungrateful about their prosperity and quarrelsome they were punished by a powerful Manito. As they were about to torture a chief's son for killing his father, a lake appeared and all were transformed into fish. Indians, thereafter, would not take fish here since they

regarded them as souls of the departed.

Lake on the Mountain sits above Lake Ontario at an altitude similar to Lake Erie to which it was supposedly connected by a subterranean passage. It was a Mohawk sacred place of worship. They would build a ceremonial fire and make offerings to Hweneyo, the Great Creator, through the intercession of the Three Sisters, great spirits who symbolized their most important crops, corn, beans and squash.

La Porte De L'Enfer. The French term for this cave means "The Gate of Hell". It was conferred by voyageurs who passed on a Nipissing and Huron legend about it. They held that a spirit in animal or monster form dwelt there, which, as Daniel Harmon wrote in 1800, "they call a man eater, and which devours those who have the presumption to approach the entrance". Archaeologists have since discovered the cave was an ancient mine. From it red ochre was extracted which was used ceremoniously to decorate both the living and the dead and to paint pictographs.

Manitoulin Island & Manatoana or The Thousand Islands was known to the Huron as Ekaentoton, "where there are very many things washed up and littering the shore". The Algonquin term is taken to be a corruption of Manitowaling, or Manitowaning, the name of a bay, which means, "where the Manito dwells", or figuratively, "home of the Great Spirit". Between South Bay and the head of Manitowaning Bay was held to be a subterranean passage used by the Manito. Manito actually is better understood as "mystery" than "spirit". It is power in nature that is found, for example, in certain plants and individuals. It is most pronounced when embodied by supernatural beings such as the thunderbirds or Missapeshu, and as found in certain natural features such as caves, whirlpools and small islands, many of which make up the Thousand Islands.



Mazinaw Lake is the largest rock painting or pictograph site in Ontario. Spread for a mile along a 100 ft. high rock face bordering the lake are 35 paintings. The figures portrayed are central to Algonquian cosmology and myth, such as Nanabozho or Nanabush, the divine trickster hero of that tradition who is represented as a rabbit man in one pictograph.

Mindemoya Island. This is said to be one of Nanabozho's wives, transformed, who he, in a temper hurled into Mindemoya Lake. Nanabozho was familiar to and revered by Algonquian peoples under various names such as Minabozo and Wasakay-jac (from the latter comes whisky jack, the Canada jay). Variousy regarded as a manito, hero, demi-god, trickster, rabbit and buffoon, he is the central figure in their creation myth. In it, he defeats powerful underwater manitos and by doing so secures for Indians the right to hunt animals. He taught them about hunting, fishing, medicines, originated dances and burial customs, but also death. He presides over the afterworld but is not lord of all creation. A composite of human greatness and folly, Nanabozho, an immensely human manito, is one with the world and its creatures much as those who revere him are. Wherever Algonquian peoples resided, he left his imprint on the landscape, and on the heart.

Niagara Falls. This possibly is the only surviving Neutral word. The original term, Onguiaahra, designated both a Neutral village in the area and the fabulous falls which at one time could be heard across Lake Ontario opposite the mouth of the Niagara River. Traditionally, an Indian maiden was sacrificed here. The last recorded sacrifice to the sound of the cataract, which Iroquoian peoples regarded as the voice of a powerful spirit, occurred in 1679 when the French explorer La Salle visited the site.

Palframan Rock Structure. The purpose of this rock structure, like that of one nearby at Talon Lake, remains an enigma. Formed out of an arrangement of stones, it features pathways and stairs that lead to an enclosed space. It is thought to be centuries old. Though no burials are associated with it, this possibly was a cere-

monial site, as suggested by the presence of a snake-like configuration of stones at the centre of the structure.

Peterborough Petroglyphs. Situated just inside the edge of the Canadian Shield, this elevated limestone exposure is covered with petroglyphs, or rock carvings, made by Algonquian peoples. These depict abstract and realistic representations of man, animal, spirit, a record of the visionary experiences of shamans. Here they communicated with manitos of the sky and underworld, for the site inclines to sunrise and is interlaced with fissures, natural passageways for these supernatural presences to make known their views on earth. Similar to the Delphic Oracle, the most sacred shrine in Greece, beneath the largest crevice can be heard the sound of a running stream, a voice in the rock. It is suspected that the petroglyphs were engraved sometime between 900 and 1400 A.D. which would make this sacred site contemporary, if not older, than either Notre Dame or Canterbury Cathedral.

Raven Rock and Roche A L'Oiseau. Rocky cliffs and hills were seen as places inhabited by spirits. As well, amongst Algonquian shamans, birds would have been regarded as souls of the departed. Raven Rock, a 150 ft. sparsely covered rock, is a nesting ground for ravens and was held in great awe by local Ojibway. Of Roche A L'Oiseau, an account of 1686 stated that it is, "a high mountain whose rock is straight and very precipitous, the middle a black wall. Perhaps that is why the Indians make their offerings, throwing arrows over, to the end of which they attach a little bit of tobacco...The rock is named l'oiseau (bird) by the Indians".

Rock Lake Vision Pits & Dreamer's Rock consists of 31 rock lined pits. Each accomodates one or two people. These were used by Algonquins, particularly during puberty rites, when they sought a vision from a spirit. After fasting for several days they would wait in the vision pit for a spiritual guardian to appear. At the summit of Dreamer's Rock is a hollow which served the same purpose as Rock Lake Vision Pits.

Splitrock Channel Memegwesi. Also spelled Maimaig-waisiwuk, these underwater spirits had hairy faces and stood three feet high. They dwelt inside cliff faces or high banks into which they would disappear in their stone canoes if pursued. Mischevious, they would steal fish, entangle nets and sometimes even cause storms on lakes if not left gifts of tobacco or cloth. Other historic locations were said to be around Burlington Bay and about one mile from the mouth of the Credit River on the east bank.

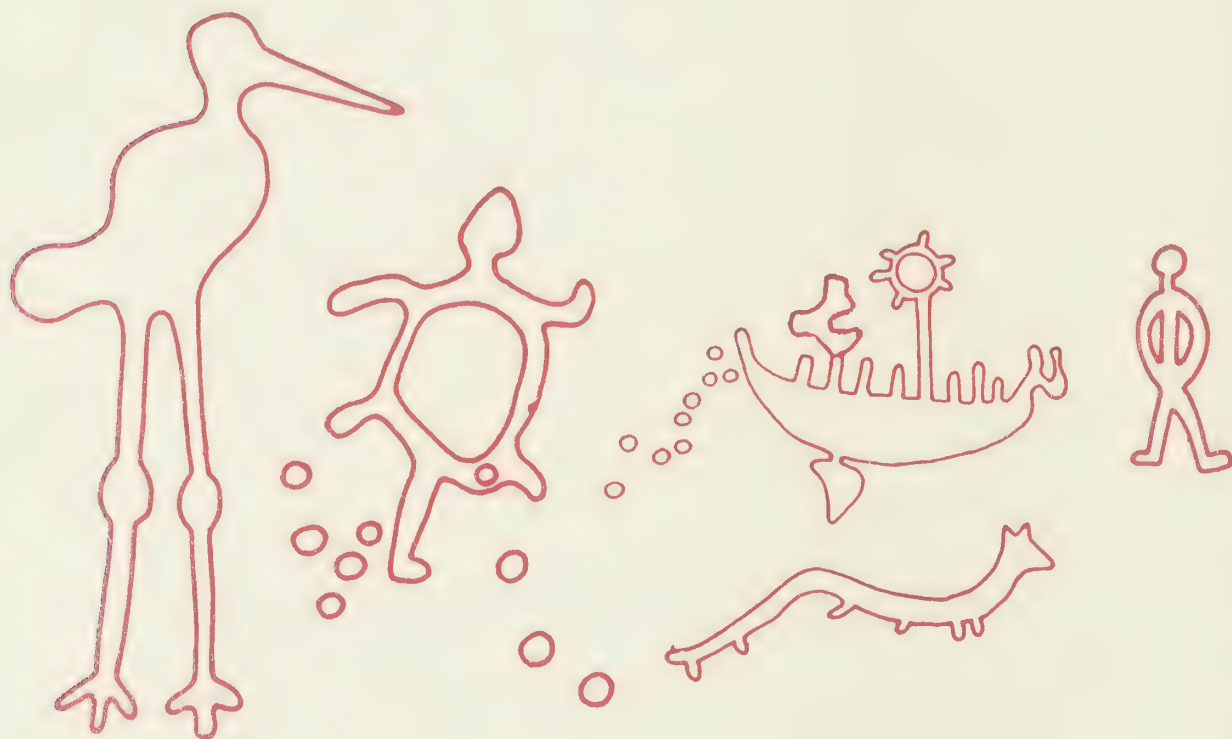
The Narrows - Midjikaming. Here at Atherly Narrows was one of the dwelling places of Mishepeshu, the "water lynx", one of the most powerful manitos known to Algonquian peoples. A composite of lynx, mountain lion, snake and catfish, it was associated with deep waters, rapids and whirlpools. It is the figure shown in the map's legend. The long tail was used to whip up waters and the horns signify it was a superior manito. Along with other underwater manitos, it controlled all game on land and in the water. Algonquians were careful to honour it with offerings of tobacco as well as the sacrifice of black and white dogs. This ensured good fishing and was done to avoid violent storms or to have them abated when out on the water. Champlain noted the Huron had constructed fish wiers here at the Narrows. The antiquity of this site, Mishepeshu's abode, has been revealed by the archaeological discovery that one fish wier stake was from the Late Archaic period and dated 3582 B.C.

The Sacred Turtle is a four foot long rock at the entrance of Shawanaga Inlet which bears remarkable resemblance to a turtle. The turtle itself was an important manito and was regarded by Algonquian peoples as a symbol of the earth and fertility. Offerings left at this site were to secure the favour of this turtle who controlled the winds of Shawanaga Inlet, the entrance to which gets rough when it is windy.

The Serpent Mounds. This site is the most celebrated of several mounds such as Le Vesconte Mound and Miller Mounds found in the Rice Lake area and along the Trent River waterway. It consists of nine earth mounds, the largest

of which is vaguely serpentine in shape, nearly 200 ft. long, 6 ft. high and 25 ft. wide. The mounds were used for burials and the entire site served as a ceremonial centre until the 3rd century A.D. Nearby is evidence of a small habitation site and a sizeable shell heap, evidence of a major staple in the mound builders' diet. Constructed by Point Peninsula people, it shows the influence of Hopewell culture of the Ohio valley where even larger mounds were built.

Yohyahdohkanthe. 'The home of the sacred thunderbird' describes the area from the Napanee to the Salmon rivers along the Bay of Quinte. Here at Eagle Hill, two miles west of Deseronto, was the nest of the White Eagle, the material manifestation of the Great Spirit. According to tradition, this very spot also was the birthplace in the 15th century of Daganawida, the prophet whose inspiration was the League of Five Nations.



Peterborough Petroglyphs



PROFILE OF ETHNO-CULTURAL COMMUNITIES



For the Romans, time began when Rome began, and Rome began when Romulus and Remus settled there. In southern Ontario the advent of most communities is taken as the year in which initial settlement in the immediate area occurred. However, this formula is not always satisfactory. Some communities only attained any degree of prominence, made it on the map so to speak, when they acquired a post office. In such instances, this first record of their formal existence is given as their year of foundation. Other foundation dates, especially those that appear by tens on the map (e.g. 1800), of necessity, are approximations since precise dates of settlement are not always known or verifiable, but rather only the decade in which it began.

Although initial settlement dates generally are a good means of knowing when a community was pioneered, they are not necessarily a meaningful way to ascertain who composed the community. For example, an individual or family of a given background may be the first in a district but in no way represent the major group(s) which subsequently formed the pioneer community, as in the instance of Zurich, which was first settled by a Swiss, and then peopled by Germans. Particularly for those communities which were established before detailed census were taken, it is essential to take into account secondary sources, such as travellers' observations and reports, in order to know the character of the original community. That character, in part, was shaped by the sense of ethnic identity those who made up a community shared. Often this survived the first generation of immigrants. As social historians have observed, the first generation of native-born invariably maintain their sense of roots but so too can subsequent generations. This phenomenon accounts, for example, for communities founded by Loyalists, long after the Loyalist migration to Upper Canada had ended. In such cases, the children or grandchildren of the first generation of Loyalists founded the community. In a related vein (for example, Hamilton), the community often did not develop in a significant way until the arrival of another ethno-cultural group. The rule of thumb, then, in most cases,

is who contributed to the pioneer development of the community more or less in the first generation of its existence. They, as much as those first in the area, are worthy of Thomas MacQueen's observation, "he who builds a village if not greater, is at least a better man than he who destroys an empire".

American. Outside of British Columbia and southern Alberta, southern Ontario has received more American immigration than any other part of the country. Prior to the War of 1812, cheap or free land made Upper Canada an attractive prospect to the American settler, especially since the American midwest was hostile Indian country at the time. One phenomenon which possibly reflects this is the fact that Newark (now Niagara-on-the-Lake), Hamilton, Burlington, Oakville, and Springfield (now Erindale) are likewise found in western New York state. Curiously, there they appear along a road of early frontier settlement in the same sequence and same geographical relation to each other as found in southern Ontario. It has been estimated that, excluding Indians, Upper Canada's population in 1812 was 136,000. Of these 88,000 were Americans, 27,000 Loyalists and 26,000 British. During the War of 1812 British authorities considered this population an internal threat. When the war ended, American settlers were discouraged in favour of ones from the British Isles. Even so, Americans thereafter came north - including groups such as the Quakers - and continued to found communities, such as Newmarket.

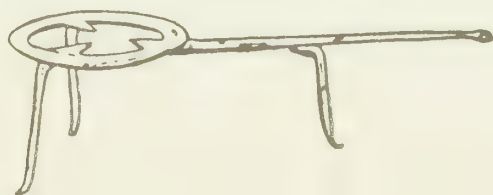
Black. It has been estimated that 10% of the Loyalist population which came to Canada consisted of Blacks, though some were slaves. As a result of anti-slavery legislation passed in 1793, the first in the British Empire, Upper Canada became a place of refuge for escaped slaves and a destination for the Underground Railway which brought them up from the South to freedom in the north. Black settlements were of three kinds: those begun by Blacks themselves, such as Little Africa near Fort Erie; those set up by humanitarian organizations, such as Lucan; and those sponsored by the government such as Shanty Bay. The latter included land grants made to Black veterans of the War of 1812. After the American Civil War, many

Blacks returned to relatives and friends left behind in the U.S., a move prompted by a cool reception often received north of the border.

British. Properly speaking, this term applies to the people of the British Isles, though more precisely it is understood to mean those whose lineage and/or customs are a product of the different nationalities in the British Isles. In southern Ontario, the latter situation describes two kinds of pioneer settlement. First, those where the founders were of various 'British' nationalities and readily integrated, if they were not 'British' to begin with. In such instances, the designation was often a matter of self-perception. Second, where the hand of the British government was very much in evidence, as with many military settlements of retired British troops, or in centres of political administration. The most notable community founded by the British, and which also included Loyalist settlers, is Toronto.

Dutch. The Dutch figured among the Loyalists who settled in Upper Canada. They were never sufficiently concentrated as such to establish a community of their own, though in some instances they were an integral element in the founding of one. They quickly assimilated, much as later Dutch immigrants tended to. In this century, their special agricultural skills led to the reclaiming of the Holland Marsh and the founding of the community of Asnorveldt.

English. While settlers of English extraction were amongst the Loyalists, they, like so many English after them, did not group together in ethnic enclaves. This, in part, explains the discrepancy between what apparently was a large English immigration to southern Ontario during the pioneer period, and for their numbers, the small number of communities they founded on their own. As well, English immigrants tended to move to established districts and centres where they individually integrated. Nonetheless, on occasion, they did settle collectively, particularly through sponsored schemes as did many of the Petworth immigrants.



French Canadian. The threat of Iroquois attack effectively thwarted the expansion of French settlement up the St. Lawrence and Ottawa Rivers into present day Ontario. Only after Cadillac established a strong French presence at Detroit with the assistance of Indian allies did French Canadians and some French soldiers set up homesteads along the Detroit River. This was the first non-native settlement in southern Ontario. Appreciable French-Canadian settlement from Quebec did not resume until some one hundred years later, though voyageurs had relocated from U.S. territory to Penetanguishene and Coldwater in the interim. Then, almost as if fulfilling a historic mission, it moved up the Ottawa and St. Lawrence Rivers, though the motive was economic opportunity.

German. This group has been in evidence from the beginnings of Upper Canada and settled in most parts of southern Ontario. By precedent, concentration and numbers they helped to establish its multicultural character. German immigration was made up of three elements: German Loyalists and Hessian troops who received land grants for military service during the American Revolution, non-violent religious groups such as the Mennonites and Tunkers, mainly from the United States, and emigrants directly from Germany. It should be noted that Mennonites, in particular, often have been considered to be Dutch because of the misnomer Pennsylvania Dutch. In fact, they are 'Deutsch', German. By their language and cultural affinity, they are German though there is a Dutch as well as Swiss element amongst them. Kitchener and Waterloo remain the most famous communities founded by Germans. If one included those Germans who anglicized their name and lost their original cultural affiliation, German people were one of the largest and most active of those groups who pioneered southern Ontario.

Icelandic. The arrival of Icelanders in southern Ontario in 1873 and 1874 is of importance in Canadian settlement history. In those years, they attempted to establish colonies in the Muskokas and at Kinmount. Within a year, the Kinmount group had relocated to Manitoba where they formed the vanguard of a large number of Icelandic communities in the Interlake district north of Winnipeg,

such as Gimli. Today only a tiny remnant remains in the Muskokas.

Irish. Contrary to what might be expected, Irish emigration from the north of Ireland, but equally from the south, was considerable prior to the famous Potato Famine of 1848. Particularly notable was the Peter Robinson emigration of 1823 which led to the founding of Peterborough. Nonetheless, it was the Famine and depressed conditions thereafter that drove countless Irish from their shores and swelled the number of Irish in southern Ontario's population. By 1850, they were the largest single group in the province, a ranking which only declined in subsequent years as more Irish began to make the United States the favoured destination.

Jewish. Like other smaller ethnic groups, Jews generally have gravitated towards urban centres, that is, except when discriminatory government policies prevented them from immigrating to Canada, as happened in the 1930s. During the 1890s, the period of the first extensive Jewish immigration to Canada, Jews established a number of communities, particularly in Western Canada. It is at this time that a party of Russian Jews virtually re-established the community of Salem which for some time had largely been deserted by its German founders.

Loyalist. The Loyalists represent the first large-scale immigration to southern Ontario, 7,000 of them arriving at the end of the American Revolution. In subsequent years, others filtered north or relocated from the two largest concentrations of Loyalist settlement in Canada, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. Three conditions had to be met to classify as a Loyalist in Upper Canada: one must have resided in America before the American Revolution; supported the British cause prior to 1783; and been a resident of Upper Canada before July 28, 1798. The Loyalists themselves were largely American or Americanized in culture and values, and in point of fact were a cross-section both by ethnicity and class of American society. The British authorities recognized this and Loyalists often were settled in ethnic blocks, which in turn attracted non-Loyalists of the same ethnicity to join

their cultural compatriots.

There were definite material advantages for oneself, one's children and their children to being classified Loyalist which non-Loyalist settlers did not enjoy. In subsequent years, it led Americans who came north simply for free land, known as "late Loyalists", or their offspring, to pass themselves off as Loyalists in order to enjoy these same advantages. After Britain successfully defended the colony of Upper Canada in the War of 1812, it became even more desirable to assume a Loyalist background if one's roots were American. As a result of these factors, the political influence of the Loyalists, or more accurately, of Loyalism, far outweighed the actual number of Loyalist settlers which was small in comparison to Americans and other groups who came to Upper Canada in the pioneer period.

Metis. Historically, Metis were understood to be of native and white parentage and had a culture which reflected this fact. This understanding is implicit in the Ojibway term for them, Wissakodewinmi, "half-burnt woodman", from which comes the more familiar French term, Bois Brule, "burnt wood". However, non-status Indians, which is to say native people who are not included in any treaty, also on occasion have been regarded as Metis, as with the community of Burleigh Falls. By such means, non-status Indians were alienated before the law from their aboriginal rights. Conversely, some groups who in actuality are Metis, such as the Parkland People of Saskatchewan (a white person founded this tribe), are now regarded as Indian because they signed a treaty with the Government of Canada. Long before such definitions were arbitrarily applied to people, Metis voyageurs, wishing to remain British subjects, founded Penetanguishene in 1818 when they migrated from Drummond Island before it formally became American territory.

Nova Scotian. Nova Scotia is the oldest part of Canada settled by non-native peoples (1605). Prior to Confederation, it was a distinct British colony. Outside of Loyalists, Bluenosers, as Nova Scotians are called, historically made up the bulk of East Coast immigration to

Upper Canada (the adjective Upper Canadian is still used there to describe Ontario). Most of these immigrants were descendants either of New Englanders or Germans who had settled western Nova Scotia prior to the American Revolution (some trace their ancestry back to the Mayflower), or of Highland Scots, as in the case of the co-founders of Kinloss.

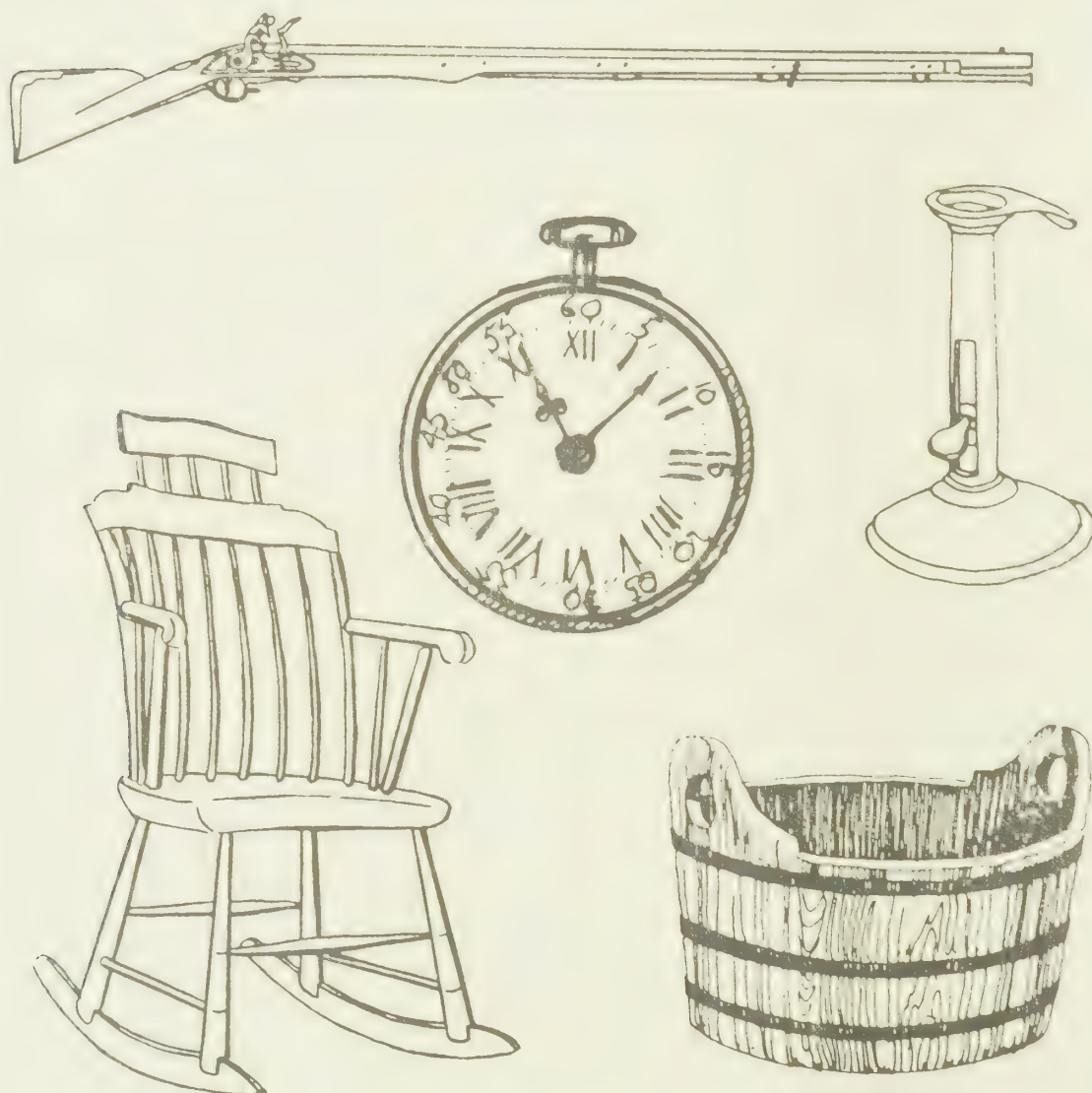
Polish. Poor economic conditions brought about the first concerted Polish immigration to Canada in 1858 when Poles located in Renfrew County. Others followed which led to the founding of Barry's Bay, making Poles the first Eastern European group to settle in Ontario (and Canada) and adding another branch to the Canadian family tree. The bulk of Polish immigration to southern Ontario was from the 1890s on and for the most part found its way to the cities in subsequent decades.

Scottish. Scots were amongst the Loyalists and established distinct communities as such along the St. Lawrence River. Like the Germans, Scots pioneers were noted for going into the wilderness and breaking new ground collectively and individually. As a result, they founded numerous settlements in most areas of southern Ontario. Scottish settlement, both Highland and Lowland, was prompted by unsettled social and economic conditions in Scotland. It took three forms: independent settlement schemes, such as Fergus, government sponsored settlements for military and/or civilians, such as Perth, and settlement by group or clan(s), such as Arnprior.

Swedish. Swedish pioneer settlement in Canada is associated largely with farming and fishing communities and communes of British Columbia, Saskatchewan and Manitoba. Much of this emigration came via the United States. In Ontario, the northwestern part of the province, especially around Kenora, received a heavy concentration of Swedish as well as Finnish settlers, whereas in southern Ontario, immigration for the most part took place since the Second World War and has been to urban centres.

Swiss. Swiss settlers were, as a rule, German-speaking and Mennonite, and settled amongst those of their faith from the United States. However, in one instance, that of Doe Lake, the community was French-speaking Swiss. The most notable community founded by Swiss, which included emigrants directly from Germany, is Preston.

Welsh. The Welsh were never counted in early census returns so that it is difficult to tell where they located or their exact numbers. In general, though, they did not settle in groups and tended to assimilate. As a result, they often were taken to be English and were enumerated as such. The notable exception to this pattern was the community of Denbigh. The Welsh experience generally reflects the fate of smaller ethnic groups who have come to southern Ontario.



A WORD ABOUT THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL RECORD

Archaeological investigation and serious enquiry into the history of native peoples in southern Ontario goes back to David Boyle, first director of the Ontario Provincial Museum in the 1880s. Since then, our knowledge of the historical record has increased tenfold due to the invaluable efforts of dedicated archaeologists such as W.J. Wintemberg, Frank Ridley, Kenneth E. Kidd, W.A. Kenyon, James V. Wright, J.N. Emerson and William C. Noble, along with the contributions of informed amateurs such as Andrew F. Hunter and Wilfred Jury. This tradition of enriching our understanding of Ontario history unfortunately has not been shared by everyone. "Pot hunters" and, on occasion, developers have done incalculable and permanent damage to sites all too frequently. The famous Seneca village of Teiaiagon was wantonly laid waste in the 1930s, before any excavation could be done, to build the residential district of Baby's Point. As recent as the summer of 1984, a gravel pit company, with the approval of the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources, destroyed a Huron village in the Midland area dating from about 1609 before archaeologists could finish their investigations. It is believed the village contained irreplaceable evidence about the St. Lawrence Iroquois, the people Jacques Cartier encountered at Montreal and who the Huron took into their confederacy. For these reasons, the locations of some archaeological and sacred/legendary sites that appear on the map have only been approximately placed in order to discourage their being tampered with, though it should be noted, the Ontario government now heavily fines anyone who disturbs or destroys a site. The placing of other sites of necessity is conjecture since their precise location has not yet been discovered.

Sites usually are named after a local feature or community (eg. Beeton), or after the owner of the property on which the site was discovered and without whose co-operation excavation would have been impossible (eg. Van Biesen). Site dates usually are fairly precise though invariably you have to allow for a margin of error with the radiocarbon method of dating. Morrison Island, a

Laurentian (Archaic) camp site, was radiocarbon dated as 4700 B.P. (Before Present) \pm 150 years, which means it could have flourished 150 years before or after the conventionally accepted date of 2734 B.C. The kind of artifacts found on a site usually help archaeologists to pinpoint or at least approximate the date of habitation. The date of some sites, such as Tinawatawa, is readily known since explorers or missionaries reported them in their accounts. Finally, some dates, such as most of those for the Paleo-Indian period, are conjectured since insufficient, unreliable or a lack of organic material (used for dating) was found at the site when excavated.

ARTWORK AND MAPS

The First Generations map is designed to interpretively suggest native motifs. Zigzag lines traditionally were associated with the power of supernatural thunderbirds while polygons and squares, here used for lakes and other features, were representative of power emanating from the underworld. From the perspective of art history, the manner of representation by native peoples of southern Ontario conforms to the artistic vision and experience of northern peoples, whether of Scandanavia, Siberia or North America. It is a style that emphasizes sharp contours, simplified elements and geometric design and is given to fantasy and abstraction. It should not be assumed, however, that because the First Generations map employs elements of native art it resembles their maps. Their maps, made on rolls of birchbark, were not so figurative. They showed the principle geographical features of an area or region. Several would be taken on a journey and used very much as we use an illustrated road map today. They were highly accurate, for in an environment that could be hostile it was dangerous and even fatal to lose your way.



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